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individual members of the respective households may be on essentially the same economic footing. 421

A survey of all the houses in Sawari was made in one day, and a catalogue compiled of articles found therein, in order to discover what inequalities of economic status existed in the community. The catalogue of articles found in certain of the houses is appended to give an idea of the typical possessions of the Sawari households. 422

Samuel's house

3 water gourds (calabashes)
8 clay pots
2 walishas
6 baskets
Powis feathers
6 hammocks (cotton); 1 hammock (maho)
8 cakes cassava bread
kakarelli leaves
about ¼ pound cotton
1 bunch bananas
1 wood bench
1 old cutlass
1 axe
1 bow
2 arrows
1 spindle
1 fan
1 cassava grater
1 cassava pan
1 hen, 4 chickens
7 necklaces and ornaments
1 cassava squeezer

Henry's (and Caroline's) house

1 akuri skin
4 clay pots
1 water gourd
2 cutlasses
1 stick of beeswax
4 fish hooks
1 walisha
2 cotton hammocks
1 cassava squeezer
1 cassava grater
Powis feathers
1 bow
4 arrows
1 trade knife
some cotton
1 spindle
1 wooden bench
4 necklaces and ornaments
1 cotton dress

Miller's house

1 cassiri kanu
6 large clay pots; 5 smaller clay pots
1 cane press
4 walishas
2 water gourds; 4 other calabashes
2 cassava squeezers
1 cassava pan
2 cassava sifters
1 drum
3 baskets
1 cassava grater
1 fan
8 cotton hammocks
2 maho hammocks
1 parrot
3 Spanish cadouris
6 fowls
1 small cannister containing mirror, box matches, 2 combs, about 3 yards red cotton cloth, one watch (broken), 2 green beer bottles, 2 empty tobacco tins (one ounce), 1 decorated maraka (medicine man's rattle), 4 steel needles, partly used spool black thread, 1 mouth organ

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1 cotton tray
1 handbag made of nibi
some kakarelli leaves
3 spindles
1 bow
3 arrows
1 dog with three young pups
1 warakabra bird
3 fish rods
3 fish hooks
1 wooden bench
1 cassiri stirring stick
2 korial paddles
1 axe
1 cornbird

Joseph's house (David's son-in-law)
2 cotton hammocks
5 clay pots
2 cassava sifters
2 cassava squeezers
3 calabashes
1 cassava grater
1 cassava pan
1 cotton tray
1 cutlass
2 bows
4 arrows
1 cassiri kanu
1 violin (obtained from shop)
1 cane mill
2 baskets
1 shoulder bag (of "tiger" skin)
1 walisha
2 maroudi birds
1 dog
1 wooden bench

David's house
3 cotton hammocks
3 maho hammocks
5 clay pots
6 calabashes
3 cassava squeezers
3 dogs
4 walishas
4 baskets
1 cassava grater
some kakarelli leaves
1 warakabra bird
1 bow
2 arrows
1 cassava sifter
some raw cotton
1 cutlass
1 maraka
1 wooden bench

John Cook's house
1 cassava grater
1 cassava trough
2 clay pots
1 drum
1 cassava pan
3 calabashes
3 cotton hammocks
1 bow
2 arrows
2 shoulder bags ("baboon" skin)
some kakarelli leaves
1 violin (home-made of bamboo joint)
3 dogs
some beeswax
1 large fish hook
1 walisha
1 basket
1 cassava squeezer
1 cassava sifter
1 pair trousers
1 singlet
1 cotton dress
1 cutlass
1 axe

422 556 However, I soon came to the conclusion that such a survey shows little if anything of importance to an understanding of the social situation in Sawari. Miller's house contains the largest

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number and the largest variety of items. Also, Miller or the members of his household own some of the most valuable imported items obtained in trade. This condition does to a certain extent reflect Miller's social prominence in the settlement; it may be regarded as a result of his social position, but not as a cause. Those outsiders who have dealings with the settlement (such as traders at Towakaima, the prospector Bell, myself) deal with Miller as the recognized head of the settlement, as the man with greatest influence; and he is therefore enabled to acquire more trade goods than other men. For instance, I required a crew of four men to go down river to Aranka, where I had left my supplies, and return to Sawari carrying a portion of the supplies on their backs. The round-trip journey was a matter of perhaps one hundred miles or about ten days. It was an arduous job, but one for which each of the men would be well paid. Negotiations were started with several men individually, but their enthusiasm was only mildly aroused, even by the prospect of acquiring fine trade goods for themselves and their families. Finally the matter was broached to Miller, who promptly persuaded four young men to undertake the journey as a favor to themselves, to him, and to me. A deal was made between Miller and the men whereby Miller obtained a certain part of the trade goods which each man received as pay, in return for his services in arranging the employment for them. Thus Miller, without making the trip himself, received more goods than any one of the men. But there is no formalization in an arrangement of this kind, which was made, in this case, simply as a personal agreement between Miller and the other men. His social prestige lent a persuasiveness to his words, but, although the consummation of a successful deal of this kind doubtless added something in turn to Miller's personal prestige, there is nothing in his office of headman which enables him to coerce the other members of the settlement. This was illustrated later, when the negro prospector, Bell, requested several laborers of Miller. Although Miller again tried to persuade members of the settlement to take the work, he was in this instance unsuccessful because the men involved considered Bell's trade goods too poor to make the job worth their while.

A mere survey of material possessions among the Caribs indicates a small degree of social importance because in this culture

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556 the accumulation of wealth has little correlation with social status.
422 There are certain material essentials, which have been described in
511 our chapters on material culture, and these every household must possess if it is to survive. The list of these essentials is not large, as compared with the possessions of more complex cultures; but it must be remembered that the major part of the Carib possessions are really essentials, there are few luxuries in the catalogue of Carib material culture. Thus, the accumulation of essential goods is merely a matter of convenience, the goods have little social connotation in themselves. A man may have two bows, so that he will not be inconvenienced should one break, but he would consider it a foolish waste of time to make a dozen bows. He would have no use for them, and he would add nothing to his prestige (in fact, would damage his reputation for intelligence) in the eyes of his fellows by possessing such a surplus.

556 One of the reasons for the surprizingly considerate treatment
461 which Indians receive from outsiders in this region is the fact that the latter have been forced to recognize that beyond a certain point, the mere possession of property means nothing to the Caribs. Every gold digger, lumber operator, and balata bleeder who has traveled on the Barama will tell you of the difficulty he has in keeping his Indian boatmen and laborers at work. "An Indian will work only until he gets what he wants and then he will quit cold," is a common observation. Consequently, anyone who relies on a native crew must depend upon the personal relations which he establishes with his workmen to a larger extent than the trade goods which he can give them.

251 Accumulations of food are likewise of little significance to the Caribs, for two reasons: the climate does not permit prolonged preservation of native food products, and daily supplies of food are readily available to the competent hunter and agriculturist, though not without a certain amount of effort, it is true. Cassava bread is the only food product which can be kept over a period of months, and such preservation is resorted to only in cases of necessity, inasmuch as the flavor of the product is adversely affected by storage.

301 A small number of luxuries are held in esteem by the Caribs.
511 Among those which they produce themselves are necklaces of teeth and seeds, cotton fillets, bracelets, and other ornaments.

000 this work. With regard to hunting, all the game killed by a partic-
*177 ular gun, regardless of the marksman, is considered to belong to the
• 422 gun's owner. This obtains even if the owner is not along on the
224 hunting trip. After keeping what he wants of the catch for himself, the owner of the gun distributes the rest among the hunting party.

*177 The only instances in which women enter into immediate exchanges
432 with other Caribs involve the selling of pots.[5] Prices vary from $3.00 to $4.00 a pot. The number of exchanges has been small, and the potter is always the seller. No pots have been sold among the residents of the satellite settlements. At the Air Strip, two women have engaged in this enterprise.

*177 The first potter is Anna Abraham, a temporary resident at the
323 Air Strip. She makes her pots in Piai Creek where she has located a
159 reliable source of clay. Male members of her household carry the pots on their backs to the Air Strip. Her pots are particularly noted for cracking and leaking, making it necessary for the purchaser
*177 to melt balata over them as a repair. Even so, during the first year
432 of her residence at the Air Strip, she sold nine pots, both tuluwa
159 and tukuwali varieties. Six pots were sold for the use of different women in the households of the Captain, the prominent Councillor, and Baird's father-in-law. The other three pots were sold to her sister and her sister's daughter. However, there was controversy regarding the exchange with her sister. The sister's household claimed they did not have the money to pay for the pot.

*177 Charlotte is the second potter. She is the same person Gillin
159 records as being the youngest wife of the headman of Sawari. Now
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